

# Peace News

No. 1,096 June 28, 1957 4d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## GERMAN UNIVERSITY TEACHERS' DISARMAMENT APPEAL 'An historic opportunity'

Following the lead of the German atomic physicists who recently renounced all further participation in nuclear bomb tests, a number of German and Austrian university professors have issued the following appeal to all "responsible intellectuals" to support the cause of total disarmament.\*

THE statement of eighteen West German atomic physicists and the appeal of Dr. Albert Schweitzer have had a marked effect on public opinion. Atomic scientists of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) have expressed solidarity with their West German colleagues.

But any hopes that these appeals would cause an improvement in the international political situation are doomed to disappointment because of the attitude of the atomic Powers and their allied Governments.

Regardless of such protests, the arms race continues relentlessly . . . the situation is fraught with danger. Any small war may develop into a "decisive war" between the two great blocs, and would undoubtedly be fought totally and with nuclear weapons . . .

### ALL POWERFUL

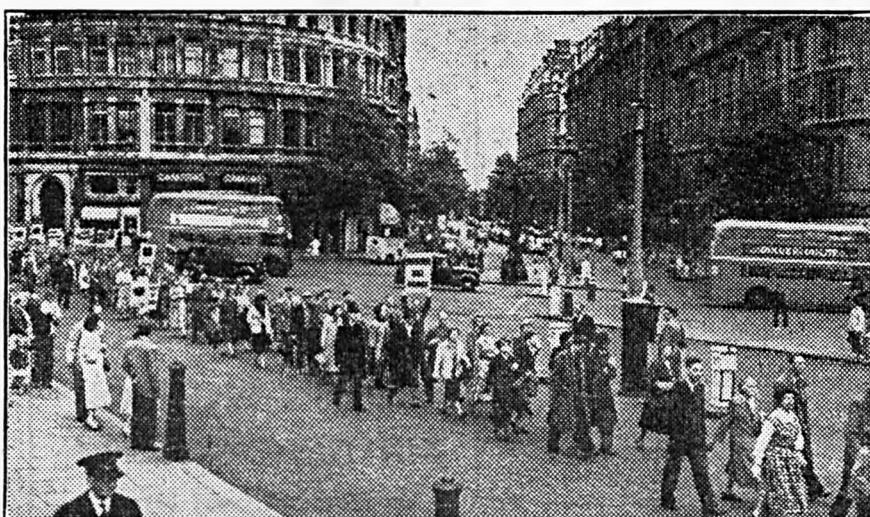
Military preparations do not afford the slightest protection, since they only increase tension and the threat of final disaster.

In 1889 Bertha von Suttner predicted: "... when the technique of war has been developed to the point where each army is capable of firing a missile which can destroy the whole of the enemy's forces with one blow, perhaps then war will be abolished altogether. If both parties in a conflict were thus all-powerful, justice could no longer be delivered up to violence."

That historic stage of ultimate military power has now been reached through the invention of nuclear weapons . . . But nothing can guarantee that they will not be used . . . for the purpose of "detering" must involve their possible and, in the long run, probable use.

□ ON BACK PAGE

\* Translated from "Das Andere Deutschland", June 1957, by Hilda von Klenze.



Last Saturday these peace marchers, led by a pipe band, were in the West End of London for two and a half hours. The Peace Pledge Union's banners, posters and leaflets were read by tens of thousands of people. See "On the March," page 8.

## St. Pancras still opposing Government on CD

# NO FURNITURE FOR HOME OFFICE MAN

By Councillor Mrs. PEGGY DUFF

Chairman of St. Pancras Borough Council Housing Committee

"St. Pancras Civil Defence Commissioner requires Instructor with recent experience in all aspects of Civil Defence Corps training except rescue. . . ."

THIS advertisement in the Daily Telegraph, which no reader of Peace News is likely to answer, is just one stage in the battle going on between the Government and St. Pancras Borough Council, which was fully reported in last week's issue.

What is going to happen next?

St. Pancras Labour Group of Councillors is determined that their argument with the Home Office shall be fought in the open, not discussed behind doors at meetings of the General Purposes Committee, and every move will be fully reported in open Council.

The Conservative opposition takes the line that having made a gesture (with which, of course, they did not agree) the Council should now either withdraw its challenge, or meekly give Mr. Beaumont every possible assistance in carrying on the job they rejected. The Labour majority will have none of this. Their policy so far as the Commissioner is concerned is one of strict non-co-operation.

### Undemocratic

Haggling over tables and chairs may seem pointless to those who support the mockery of present day Civil Defence, but those of us who are strongly opposed to it are not prepared to give even one chair to help Mr. Beaumont. So, at the Council Meeting on Wednesday it was recommended and agreed that "Furniture and fittings belonging to the Council should be removed and stored at the Town Hall."

The Labour Councillors are prepared to take the consequences of their defiance. They knew when they embarked on this course what the results would be, and that the Government grant would be withdrawn.

They regard it, however, as entirely undemocratic that the Commissioner and staff appointed by the Government should carry on Civil Defence in the name of the St. Pancras Borough Council, an elected body, which has declined to have anything to do with it.

A Motion, signed by the Policy Committee was, therefore, debated and passed on Wednesday against Tory opposition, asking the Home Secretary to receive a Deputation to make clear the Council's views.

### Committee's motion

"The Council remains convinced" states this motion, "of the correctness of its decision to discontinue Civil Defence and therefore strongly objects to the appointment by the Home Secretary of a Commissioner to continue Civil Defence in the name of the St. Pancras Borough Council. The Council cannot see how an appointed person can carry out Civil Defence duties in the name of an elected Council which has refused to do them."

In the meantime support for the Council's action is increasing. Both the Labour Parties in the Borough, and the Trades Council are supporting the Labour Councillors.

The only support for the Government has come from the Conservative Councillors, and one local newspaper which headlined a Leader on the subject "Instructions from Moscow!" This seems to be the only answer the Government and its supporters have, to those who oppose its present defence policy.



Shoals of letters for TED

'There's no glory here'  
RASEY

From our Salisbury Correspondent

"A very remarkable statement" was the description given by Judge Wethered, Chairman of the Conscientious Objector's Tribunal at Bristol to the case put by Peace News reader Ted Rasey of Charlton-all-Saints, near Salisbury when he applied for exemption from military service.

Those who know Ted, who was granted conditional registration, are not surprised that he should have created such an impression. Before he left school he was consistently and ardently campaigning for sanity in our international relationships. Leader of the Salisbury Young Socialists, Ted never waited for direction from above and on more than one occasion when he considered normal machinery of the Labour Party too insensitive and slow, he organised his own meetings in Salisbury Market Square and proved himself a match for much maturer opponents.

At the age of 18 he has achieved the distinction of seeing the major part of his "remarkable statement" published last Friday on the leader page of the "News Chronicle". On it, the Editorial commented,

★ ON BACK PAGE

## QC. SUPPORTS CALL FOR INQUIRY ON UNARMED DEFENCE

By Gerald Gardiner QC

IT seems to me clear that it is impracticable to try to separate tactical and strategical nuclear weapons. But their retention may mean the end of the human race as it now exists. In these circumstances I fail to see how there can be any excuse for failing to examine any possible alternative.

There are men who believe that non-violent resistance is a more practical method of defending our way of life than the continued development of nuclear weapons. I do not understand in these circumstances what objection there can be to Sir Stephen King-Hall's request for an enquiry into this method. As a people we cannot say that we know much of the method proposed, or how it would work.

In my opinion, if we have any duty to future generations, we cannot afford to ignore any possible alternative to the development of nuclear weapons, and on these grounds I strongly support his request for such an enquiry.

J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News, replies to Henry Usborne, MP, who wrote on non-violent resistance and world federalism in Peace News on June 14.

See page five

# THE MAN I SENT TO JAIL

## Introduction by Reginald Reynolds

EUGENE V. DEBS, the best loved of all American Socialist leaders, was born in 1855. A pacifist who was framed—but fortunately acquitted—on a charge of conspiracy to murder, he served two jail sentences, the second one as a result of a speech made during the first World War which was considered to violate the comprehensive war-time laws in America relating to "espionage".

The older generation of pacifist recalls many memories of Debs—the man who said at his trial, in 1918, "While there is a lower class, I am in it: while there is a criminal element, I am of it: while there is a soul in prison, I am not free".

We remember, too, that while he was in jail he was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and received over 900,000 votes.

But a younger generation, even in America, has hardly heard of this man. At a 'teenage Institute in New York State last Summer I was astonished when one of my colleagues, asked to introduce himself, mentioned that his evidence had sent Debs to prison in 1918. I was equally astonished to realise that the young people did not know who Eugene Debs was.

The speaker was Dr. A. Clyde Miller, American expert on Propaganda Analysis, from whom I learned a great deal. Mr. Miller himself (as his article shows) came to learn from Eugene Debs long before the great leader died in 1926.

I found that Clyde Miller had once published the story about Debs and himself in SAY, the journal of the Roosevelt University Alumni Association. The article, which appeared in the Winter issue for 1954, was out of print: but a copy was specially made for me by courtesy of the editor.

The facts in this article have never been published before in England and are given here in Clyde Miller's own account as a suitable reminder of the events in which two remarkable men were involved. Debs was arrested 39 years ago, on June 26, 1918.

IN a graduate seminar in human relations we were talking one evening about the fixed notions people have of what is good and bad, right or wrong, wise or foolish, superior or inferior with respect to racial, religious, economic and political groups. The point was made that if we can review some of the fixed notions we ourselves have had in the past, we can be more charitable towards those who today hold foolish notions which we ourselves have discarded.

People, it was said, are more likely to see how others can be freed from dangerous ideas, if they can review their own lives, watch their own selves go by, as it were, and discern the events and influences which caused changes in their thoughts and feelings.

## America and the war

"For instance," I said, "take my case. When World War I began President Wilson made such a strong case for American neutrality in thought and word and deed that I voted for his re-election. And why not? He'd kept us out of war, hadn't he? And he'd continue to keep us out of war: that was the pledge of the Democratic Party."

So I, a young Republican, voted for Wilson. Yet within a few months after his re-election I was heart and soul for having America get into the war—a complete reversal of my thoughts.

The big change came while I was a reporter on the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

By Dr. CLYDE MILLER

In the early part of the year 1917 I was so disgusted that America was not in the war that I went to Canada to enlist.

Turned down in that effort by reason of "poor vision," I said: "Very well I'll do all I can as a reporter on the Plain Dealer to get America into this war."

It so happened I could do plenty. I was assigned to the hotel beat—to interview prominent figures who came to Cleveland. Always I'd ask the visitor if he was for our getting into the war. If the answer was yes, I'd give his reasons as good a play as possible—get him on page one, perhaps. If it was no, I'd try to keep his war views out of my story or try to make them appear ridiculous or worse.

Finally, when war was declared, I was exalted. Again I sought to enlist, tried Army, Navy and Marines—and again I was

rejected—poor vision. Not even selective service would select me.

At that, I got a good break. I was assigned to the federal beat, which included the regional office of the FBI. And thrilling work it was. Nearly every day opportunities to sit in with the US District Attorney Ed Wertz, or his assistants, or to talk with Charles DeWoody, the FBI regional here, and his operators as they planned sensational raids and round-ups and prosecutions of pro-Germans, draft evaders and suspected saboteurs.

Often I'd go along on the raids. I'd see doors smashed down; see men seized and hauled off to prison: exciting events these. Wonderful stories to be written. As I made the front page oftener and oftener, there came a growing sense of my own importance. Yes sir, I was in there helping win the war to make the world safe for democracy!

With such stories featured by the Plain Dealer and all the papers, jail accommodation in Cleveland filled to overflowing. To take care of the overflow, additional jail space was rented by the federal government in neighbouring county seats. And that brought about my first meeting with the man I sent to jail.

## Interview with Debs

We were deep in war when it happened. My city editor told me to go down to Canton, Ohio, to interview Eugene Debs, Socialist Party candidate for the presidency, and get his views on war. Canton was a logical place because the socialist candidates for various state offices from the governorship down, were in the county jail in Canton for opposing war.

Most or all of the socialist prisoners were on the jail's first floor in cells looking out on a small park or common. It was figured that if a speaker's stand could be built in the park the meeting could be held right there; the jailed candidates could look through their cell windows, hang onto the bars, talk through them, listen through them, and above all, listen to their presidential candidate, Gene Debs. My city editor had said, "Be sure to get Debs attitude on the war."

So I went to Canton and checked in at the old Courtland Hotel where Debs was staying. A blistering hot Sunday morning it was. Somebody pointed out Debs to me in the hotel lobby. He was a tall, lean man with a thin face, and sparse greying hair. He wore a black alpaca coat and sleazy grey trousers. As I introduced myself to him I was impressed by his friendliness and, above all, by his eyes. They were blue, as I recall, and from them there seemed to stream a kindness, a tenderness—as real as if it were something tangible that you could touch.

## Contest for empire

Immediately I liked him. This man, I felt, has not only courtesy and kindness, but a sense of right and wrong. He wants the utter destruction of those dirty Huns.

And then came the shock. How did he feel about our being in the war? He was AGAINST it. I exclaimed, "Mr. Debs, how can you say a thing like that? Surely, you are not going to say that in your speech this afternoon!"

"I certainly am."

His explanation was simple and—I felt—completely mistaken. The war was a contest for empire: a contest between powerful and rich men in Germany who would add to their wealth, and precisely the same kind of ruthless, rich and greedy men in England. These creatures and their respective allies would increase their wealth by exploiting the colonial regions and colonial peoples of the world. The pawns in the contest were the millions of young men in the various armies—young men who hadn't the faintest idea of the real issue of the war.

"It is appalling," said Debs, "to think of young American boys trained to plunge their bayonets into the quivering flesh of German lads whom they have never met; appalling to think of German boys trained to kill young Americans, to stab, and to blow them to pieces. Yes sir!"

I'm against this war with every drop of blood in my body!"

Well, to me that was horrible heresy. I repeated, surely Mr. Debs, you don't intend to say this publicly.

"Why, that's what I'm here to do."

Well, he did it all right. He gave an address in Canton that afternoon which shocked the nation. All I had to do was to take it down in my crude reporter's shorthand, type it out and wire it to my paper. The story made the front page. It made the front page everywhere, for the wire services carried it.

I knew it would when I wired it in. I was mighty proud of myself as I checked out of the hotel late that Sunday afternoon. Boy, I thought, you certainly cleaned up on this story!

To be concluded next week.

## "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE 6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

## REFLECTIONS ON DEFENCE

Reprints of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" are still obtainable at 15s. per 100, or 2s. a doz., from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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## Scholarship to help racial harmony

THE University of Bristol "Assegai Society" has launched an appeal to found the "Huddlestone Scholarship Fund," which is to provide an opportunity for a graduate student from one of our High Commission Territories in South Africa to read for the Certificate in Education at the University of Bristol.

The Principal of Roma College, Basutoland, has agreed to select the first Huddlestone Scholar, who will be chosen by July, 1957.

### AIMS

The aims of this scholarship are three-fold:

1. To protest against the policy of racial discrimination, especially in the field of education, and notably to protest against the policy of the South African Government in applying the principles of "apartheid" to higher education;
2. To encourage the development of the High Commission Territories by spreading the benefits of education;
3. To encourage inter-racial harmony and understanding by destroying the ignorance and fear upon which racial intolerance is based.

Donations to the Fund may be sent to Brian D. Brown, President, Assegai Society, University of Bristol Union, Victoria Rooms, Bristol 8.

Among those supporting the fund are the Bishop of Clifton, the Bishop of Bristol, the President of the Bristol Free Church Federal Council, Father Trevor Huddlestone, Professors C. M. McInnes, H. D. Dickinson, and R. E. Wilson, of the University of Bristol, and Anthony Wedgwood-Benn, MP.

## Young Quakers for Moscow Festival

SIX young Quakers will attend the Moscow Youth Festival "as observers and not as delegates," thus signifying that they "do not accept the opinions and beliefs of Communists."

They are: David Harper, Mary Field, Philip Morris, Dorothy Worsdell, Denis Binns and Irene Jacoby.

After meeting together over Whitsun week-end the team of young Quakers told the Press:

"We have considered prayerfully the objections others have felt bound to make."

"As Christians we know we must meet all people in a loving and open spirit, in sharing mutual experiences we may come to a deeper understanding of each other, and we may learn how to live and work together to make a world in which true peace is a living reality."

"Our witness may pass almost unnoticed, but we must make it, knowing that God is at work in every situation."

They told "The Friend" that they hope "to make contacts both with young Russians and with a few of the 30,000 young people from other countries. In these personal contacts lies much of the positive good that may be achieved . . ."

A new pamphlet on the practical advantages of non-violent resistance to win and keep national freedom

## WHICH WAY TO FREEDOM?

By Gene Sharp

Assistant Editor of Peace News

Introduction by Gwynfor Evans  
President Plaid Cymru

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## AFRICAN CONGRESS ALARMS WHITE SETTLERS

From BASIL DELAINE, Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia

A TALKING-POINT of the news in Southern Rhodesia this month is the announcement that an African National Congress is to be formed in the colony.

In fact, the country has had an African nationalistic organisation for some years, under the title of Youth League. So all the current announcement means is that the Youth League will in future be called the African National Congress.

Also for many years this colony has sheltered branches of the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Congresses in Salisbury and Bulawayo, so the idea is not so startlingly fresh and sinister as many Europeans here believe.

The average white settler views the official formation of a Congress with alarm. One-sided Press reports of the "trouble" Congress has caused in the North are to some extent responsible for this fear.

### Capricorn's plans

On the other hand I feel it is lamentable that the African feels that his salvation lies in a nationalistic approach. Nationalism—black or white—can only lead the Federation to disaster.

But if the existing (white) political parties cannot work out a truly multi-racial plan—and this is more difficult than many well-meaning Labourites and Liberals in Britain imagine—what choice has the African but a nationalistic outlet?

There is, of course, an urgent need in the Federation for a political party with a policy that could transcend the present black and white nationalistic trends.

Has Colonel Stirling of the Capricorn Africa Society the answer?

He recently announced that he intends to send a political party into the arena. But he will find little white support—and most Africans view with suspicion the overtures of this undoubtedly clever Liberal.

The Rhodesian (white) Press, always quick to publish the views of Africans who make anti-Congress pronouncements, quotes Mr. Charles Mzingeli (described as "a representative of moderate African thought") as saying there would be no support from African leaders for a Southern Rhodesian African National Congress sponsored by the Youth League.

"The African people," he is reported to have said, "do feel they should have a national congress like Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but they do not want one founded by the Youth League."

### White man's stupidity

Mr. M. perhaps, has proof that the Youth League is one of Mr. K's creations. If so, I hope Mr. Mzingeli is correct, and that the African in Southern Rhodesia will cock a snook at the Youth League.

But if the newly-named organisation has no connection with Soviet plans for Africa, then I see nothing to criticise but the white

## TAX SUIT AGAINST GOVERNMENT FAILS

MILTON MAYER, pacifist writer and lecturer from Carmel, California, had his suit against the US Government for the recovery of taxes dismissed by Judge Louise Goodman on March 18. Mayer had asked that he be exempted from payment of that part of his income tax which goes to the payment of past, present and future wars.

Plans are being made to appeal against the court's decision, but \$1,000 will be needed. Contributions for this appeal should be sent to CCOO, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, USA.

In another case heard last year, Fyke Farmer, a Nashville attorney, was ordered to pay \$6,750 which he had withheld on the grounds that the Korean War was an act of aggression by the US and he would be a war criminal if he paid.

He has appealed against the decision of the district court and if necessary will take the case to the Supreme Court.

June 28, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## FROM OLD AND YOUNG

FROM an unknown address last week came a letter asking us to "please accept 10s. from two old women aged 78 and 87, with all good wishes for the success of Peace News."



The elder of our two friends was a child when Europe's "post-war years" were those following the cruel and bloody Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

As a woman of 30 she saw Britain at its most jingoistic waving the soldiers off to the Boer War, only to realise more than fifty years later that two world wars had not entirely eliminated that mood, for it made what one hopes was a last stand at Port Said.

Yet still she sends "good wishes for the success of Peace News," helping us in her old age in order that younger generations might carry on the torch lit by others.

By a strange coincidence that letter came to me along with the News Chronicle containing the tributary statement by 18-year-old Peace News reader Ted Rasey (printed beneath a big headline "There's No Glory Here") and that paper's editorial, "Is Pacifism Practical?"

We are trying to answer that and many other questions week by week in Peace News. So please help Peace News.

We need

## £2648 by Dec. 31

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since June 14, 1957: £249 17s. 1d.

Total since January 1, 1957: £851 15s. 1d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: PN reader £1; Anon 7s. 6d.; "With many thanks" £2.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N4.

Published last week by Gollancz

## TESTAMENT OF EXPERIENCE

by Vera Brittain

"Her life remained symbolic because her work for peace echoed the prime aspiration of the age . . . One may safely predict for this, the concluding volume of the trilogy, a success as world-wide as that of the first."—Yorkshire Post (PHYLLIS BENTLEY).

"It is enormously to the credit of a person so dependent on popularity to have become converted to, and sponsored, the unpopular cause of pacifism."—New Statesman & Nation (MARY SCRUTON).

"Vera Brittain's passionate pleadings to follow non-violent ways of avoiding war and resisting an enemy must have profound significance today."—Reynolds News (GEORGE SCOTT).

"Her steadfast conviction that her task is to serve the ends of world peace . . . runs like a golden thread through the whole absorbing narrative."—Sphere (VERNON FANE).

"She re-states the pacifist argument. We rejected this belief in 1938. I think we were right. But how does it look now against the ghastly urgency of the H-bomb?"—Sunday Graphic (REV. FRANK MARTIN).

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## Weapons for Korea

IT is probably true that the North Koreans have strengthened their forces in violation of the armistice agreement. Their denials, when charged with this by the Commander of the United Nations Forces in South Korea on June 21, were hardly convincing. General Litzenberg himself, on the other hand, declined to enumerate these violations when asked to do so by the Press, saying only that this had already been done in the Armistice Commission's periodical meetings during the last four years.

The upshot is that the United Nations Forces in the area are to be equipped with "modern" weapons; and according to The Times (22.6.57) "this means, theoretically, that the troops may be supplied henceforth with the latest types of missiles and atomic devices."

## Atomic warfare

THIS is the first time that anything within the category of atomic weapons has been referred to simply as "modern", and the purpose of this comment is to call attention to this further step forward in the authorities' efforts to get atomic warfare accepted as respectable. That process began when it was explained that certain atomic devices were to be on the small scale and purely "tactical". Even then, they would be used only defensively.

With regard to this last point it is of interest to note two facts. The first is that this "defensive" declaration was once again repeated when the announcement was made regarding the "modern" weapons to be supplied to the United Nations Forces in Korea; the second, concerning interpretation, can be seen in a ministerial reply to a question in the Dutch Lower Chamber. There, Prime Minister Drees said on June 15 that he felt the NATO countries "had the right to be the first to defend themselves with atomic weapons even if they should be attacked with other arms". (Our italics)

Here then we have the present position. Missiles of unspecified distance capacity are included among weapons described simply as "modern", and the Prime Minister of a NATO country, who must be supposed to know that his words will find common agreement among his western colleagues, declares that he believes in the right to use atomic weapons even if such weapons have not been used by an attacking force.

It seems obvious that the distance between the feelings of ordinary people all over the world and the opinions of their Governments and military experts is becoming greater, week by week.

## Policy for Algeria?

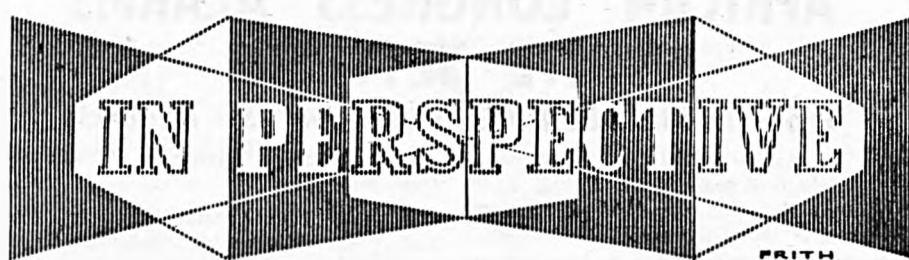
AS relations between France and Algeria grow more tragic and cruel, growing hopelessness is to be found in the rapid change that is taking place in French thought, even if this is not yet reflected in French politics.

The best in French life has been deeply wounded by the allegations of what some young Frenchmen have done when plunged into the Algerian maelstrom, and by the inner conviction that whatever the Government may say, many of these atrocity stories are true.

Behind all this too, there is the realisation that a military victory would bring no end to the Algerian struggle, and that even a military victory, despite the lives and treasure spent to secure it, is an extreme improbability.

The latest, and perhaps the most significant evidence of this changing view is a book by M. Raymond Aron, "The Algerian Tragedy." M. Aron is not a man of the "left". His tendencies in politics are conservative. He was Editor of *La France Libre* in Britain during the war. It is this fact that makes the radicalism of his proposals all the more striking.

We have a particular satisfaction in referring to one aspect of M. Aron's proposals. We have repeatedly urged that before there can be real progress toward democratic independence for the people of Kenya it will be necessary for the British Government to purchase the holdings of the British settlers at a reasonable price, and we have advocated this as part of a



workable policy towards freedom in Kenya.

We have never ventured to suggest that a similar course might be taken in Algeria because of the very much more formidable dimensions of the problem there. There are approximately one million "colons" in Algeria as compared with some 30,000 British in Kenya. We regarded this as a factor that made the problem of the future of Algeria even more desperate.

M. Aron, we are glad to say, advocates such a policy for Algeria. A modifying factor is that the Algerian problem as compared with that of Kenya is not of the difference in magnitude suggested by the above figures, for there is a much higher

proportion of functionaries and small traders among the French population in Algeria. M. Aron urges that the Algerian claim to independence should now be accepted and that the policy should be to work towards it. "The repatriation of those among the functionaries who, as in Tunisia and in Morocco, have no longer a place in an Algeria governed by Algerians must be organised and financed by the metropolitan Government."

As for those who might be expected to remain in Algeria because their qualifications would be of use to an independent Algerian Government M. Aron leaves it an open question whether they can adapt them-

*Editorial and Publishing office.*

3 Blackstock Road,  
London, N.4  
Tel: STAMford HILL 2262

*Distribution office for U.S.A.*

130 Brattle St.,  
Cambridge 38, Mass.

## PEACE NEWS

June 28, 1957

## THE REPORT ON HUNGARY

THE general conclusions of the Report of the United Nations Special Committee investigating events in Hungary last October and November merely confirm—in more detail—inferences already drawn by most people not under any political obligation to think as the Russian Government directs.

In some less important aspects the Report fails in impartiality because its conclusions had to be based on testimony of refugees. This was not the Committee's fault, however. The Kadar Government did not permit it to conduct enquiries in Hungary, holding this would be interfering in its internal affairs. The Russian Government agreed.

It has always been quite plain that Mr. Kadar's Government was imposed on the Hungarian people by Russian arms. The UN Committee, unable to make contact with the Kadar Government, reports that it had no opportunity to examine the text of the invitation sent by Kadar to the Russian Government to intervene on his behalf.

The value of this text—whether it was written at the time of the Russian intervention or later—is indicated by the fact that during the first few days of Mr. Kadar's Government, both he and his ministers were absent from Budapest. (They were presumably in Moscow.)



THE Report will have the value of making more generally clear the results of the Communist political method. The Report is also important for the peoples in the West for the direction it points on what are and are not possible ways of assisting Communist-oppressed peoples to their freedom.

The Committee say plainly: "It would appear that certain broadcasts by Radio Free Europe helped to create an impression that support might be forthcoming for the Hungarians. The Committee feels that in such circumstances the greatest restraint and circumspection are called for in international broadcasting."

Since the Russians installed the Kadar regime there have been many bitter complaints from Hungarians about the West. They have suggested that the drive for freedom could have been helped by a Western military intervention.

That feeling is understandable in the bitterness of the moment, but it cannot last when soberly viewed in the face of today's realities. Some of the refugee witnesses had their own ideas about what might have been done through the UN, but the Report remarks that in general the refugees made it clear they did not expect UN troops to march over the border to their aid.

"Our revolution was not worth a third world war," was one comment. It must be equally plain to all unfree peoples that just as a world nuclear war could not help them, neither could a localised struggle on the Korean model—particularly as it would be fought with the help of "tactical" nuclear weapons. There would be very little left of the Hungarian people after such a war.



THE ways in which the West can help the unfree peoples of Eastern Europe involve radical changes from past assumptions. The first lies in continually making vocal the moral indignation felt by the part of the world permitted to know the facts. This Report and its airing in the UN Assembly will help in this.

The moral influence of the West, however, is lessened by the extent to which it faces similar charges. France, and Britain, for example, who rightly prize the traditions of freedom they have established for themselves, each have a heavy share in responsibility for what happened in Hungary. When Russia began aggression in Hungary, they were engaged in their own aggression in Egypt.

Today, too, France in Algeria and Britain in Cyprus are guilty of much the same kind of crime as can be charged against Russia. When we give freedom to Cypriots and Algerians, we will be helping the people of Eastern Europe.

The second change in outlook required is even more fundamental. We know the Hungarians cannot win freedom by force of arms. They must realise this now. We know also that there cannot be a third world war to defend freedom.

Freedom today can only be defended, and can only be won, by the non-violent refusal to live other than under the conditions of freedom. If a great Power of the West could begin to frame its policy on this fact, it would, by its example, be giving the greatest possible help to the unfree people of Eastern Europe.

selves to the new conditions and find the necessary security and respect for their rights, but he urges that the longer the "war of pacification" goes on the less chance is there of a pacific cohabitation as between Frenchmen and Algerians.

M. Aron has had the courage to say in public what many among the French must be thinking although they may be keeping quiet about it. Now he has spoken we feel confident that a great deal more will be heard of his proposals.

## American Forum

WE recently described here the purposes of the American Forum for Socialist Education that has been established in the USA, largely through the initiative of A. J. Muste who is the Chairman. We expressed some scepticism as to the outcome of this move because of the association with the Forum of a number of Communists who have continued to adhere to their Party not only after the Khrushchev revelations as to the terrible evils of the Stalin regime (which we hold to be an outcome of the nature of the Communist political conception), but also since the imposition by Russian arms of the Kadar regime on Hungary.

It is clear, however, that an observer like A. J. Muste is in a better position than ourselves to estimate possibilities in the USA and we were prepared to consider the possibility that there is today a radically different situation among organised Communists there as compared with any of the European Communist Parties. While therefore we have had little confidence in the outcome we were awaiting news of the experiment with the greatest interest.

When we wrote, the news of the action taken by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had not reached us. On May 17 Senator Eastland, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee wrote to Mr. Muste intimating that his Committee had scheduled a hearing as to the nature of the American Forum to be held on May 21. Mr. Muste was asked to reply to a number of questions relating to the formation of the Forum.

There were a number of aspects in the methods adopted in the initiation of this enquiry that have the most unpleasant characteristics of the traditional McCarthyism, and we shall probably perceive the full significance of these later on.

## Road to perdition

MR. MUSTE has refused to answer the questions, and whatever may be the outcome of the setting up of the Forum we may hope that an immediate consequence will be a contribution toward a much-needed liberalisation in US politics. Certainly in the way A. J. Muste is confronting the Committee he is doing his best to achieve this.

He remarks that should he be subpoenaed to appear before the Sub-Committee he will state his reasons for the refusal and that he will not appeal to the Fifth Amendment.

In the course of his letter to Senator Eastland he says that his refusal "is due to my firm conviction that inquisition into the political—the same would be true of religious—views and activities of citizens is evil, a resort to methods characteristic of totalitarian regimes, unconstitutional, and profoundly un-American. In a free society, we have to draw a line between advocacy and discussion, and all such matters on the one hand, and acts which are illegal, subversive or treasonable on the other hand. The line between the two may not be easy to draw. This is precisely the basis on which totalitarian regimes seek to justify all their anti-democratic measures. We must not go that road to perdition . . .

"It happens, Mr. Eastland, that I differ profoundly from you on such very fundamental matters as the position citizens should take toward the unanimous Supreme Court decision in the public schools and on the whole question of relations between races. I do not see how your attitude can be squared with democratic concepts or with the central teachings of the Christian faith. I also believe that because of its effect on hundreds of people in all parts of the world, your stand and activities in these matters constitute an immense threat to the security and good name of the United States."

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## J. ALLEN SKINNER REPLIES TO THE COMMENTS OF HENRY USBORNE, MP, ON THE KING-HALL PROPOSAL

**Non-violent defence and Federalism**

WHATEVER may be the ultimate outcome from Sir Stephen King-Hall's initiative for a Royal Commission on non-violent resistance as a method of defence against aggression, it has already had a very useful effect on pacifist thought.

It has brought into discussion on the subject a number of persons who, although not starting from pacifist assumptions, are prepared to examine this method objectively because they realise that defence by armed warfare has now become an impossibility.

As the campaign for such an enquiry goes forward, the implications of the non-violent method will become clearer both to those examining it for the first time and to many pacifists.

**The method of armed warfare conditions the society that accepts and prepares for it; equally the acceptance of the idea of non-violence must radically change the character of the society that embraces it.**

**PRECONCEPTIONS**

As Stuart Morris remarked in his article (PN, May 17) "The reliance on non-violent resistance involves the revolutionary change from basing policy on immoral weapons to basing it on moral principles."

In the articles that have so far appeared in Peace News on the subject it seems to me that Mr. Henry Usborne, MP (PN, June 14) has shown the clearest perception of this truth, but because of the strong preconceptions he brings to his examination of this question he has not been able to realise where his thought leads, or to see the very great dangers in his own view as to the way ahead.

For Mr. Usborne, Sir Stephen's proposal is important because having faced the fact

that warfare on traditional lines has become impossible it makes necessary the examination of those policies that have hitherto been regarded as unrealistic. He equates the proposals of the advocates of Federal Union with the proposal for non-violent resistance as policies "of the same order of political 'unreality'." That being so he would have a Royal Commission examine "all alternatives" so that Federal Union could be brought equally into the picture. It is, of course, not Mr. Usborne's purpose to examine flaws in the thinking of the Federalists in his article, but to urge the disadvantages he sees in the method of non-violent defence.

It is with these considerations that I wish to concern myself, but I think that in dealing with these, some of the inadequacies of the thinking of the Federalists in their own field will become clear.

The crux of Mr. Usborne's case is to be found in the contention that "a country that has once practised civil disobedience is thereafter less easily governed democratically."

**DEMOCRACY**

There are other passages in Mr. Usborne's article that seem to suggest that his objection is merely that those who have become able to practise civil disobedience are "less easily governed," and that the word "democratically" has not any very great significance in the passage I have quoted.

Now there is this truth in Mr. Usborne's

contentions—and this aspect has great importance in the minds of many of its advocates—that it is not compatible with a conception of democracy which merely means a majority acceptance of what is imposed by the holders of power.

It is the reverse of the Leninist conception of "democratic centralism" which is the basic idea of the totalitarian tyranny that afflicts the world today. Non-violent resistance implies a conception of democratic action in which decisions are brought as closely as possible into the hands of the people whose conditions they affect. It implies, too, a conception of democracy that is particularly sensitive to minority rights in matters that are the primary concern of the minorities in question.

**SOCIAL DANGERS**

It can be accepted, of course, that the training of men for non-violent resistance carries with it the possibility of social danger (just as for that matter does the equipping of them with rifles and bayonets); and that this may carry with it an element of threat to the delicate psychological network that binds together a good society.

It is of the character of non-violent resistance, however, that it is very difficult to use it to impose the will of the non-violent resisters on others. In this it is profoundly different from the methods of the "maquis" referred to by Mr. Usborne, and the methods of action advocated by the syndicalists of my youth.

That is an aspect of the limitation noted by Mr. Usborne in his comment that "it

is of the essence of passive resistance that it cannot intervene in another country's affairs." In the main, the method of non-violent resistance can only be used successfully for defence. It cannot be used as a means of coercion.

As a means of defence it is, of course, invincible if it is steadfastly adhered to, and it is this factor that enables it to give its own particular content to the word "democracy." Non-violent resistance

● ON BACK PAGE

**THE WRITER**

J. ALLEN SKINNER, former *Editor of Peace News*, is now *Associate Editor*. He is a Member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union.

During World War I, he was imprisoned as a war resister and was a member of the No Conscription Fellowship. Later he joined the No More War Movement when it was created and at different periods was a member of its National Council, Chairman, and *Editor of No More War and Editor of New World*.

For many years he was a member of the staff of *The Post*, the newspaper of the Union of Post Office Workers.

In 1924 he was Labour Parliamentary Candidate for Hendon, and for Clapham in 1929.

For many years he was a member of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party and for a time was its national Industrial Secretary. He is a past Chairman and Secretary of the No Conscription Council.

**Fenner Brockway MP, writes on the charges of torture in Cyprus**

**INVESTIGATE THESE ALLEGATIONS**

IT seems inevitable that when official mass violence takes place, unofficial individual torture accompanies it. It happened in the World Wars, in Spain, in Ireland, in Israel, in Kenya, and the evidence is mounting that it is happening now in Algeria and Cyprus.

This is not a condemnation of any particular race. It is a condemnation of war and repression.

French newspapers and writers, especially brave Claude Bourdet, have exposed outrages committed by police and troops in Algeria. They have become a national scandal. Whatever the truth about the origins of the recent massacre of an Arab village (the French allege that it was an act of revenge by Arabs against their non-co-operating countrymen), there is no doubt that members of the National Liberation Front have also committed vicious crimes. They are an invariable feature of violent conflict, perhaps especially where repression invites rebellion. Gandhi's non-violent resistance to British imperialism is one of the few exceptions, and even in that case passions sometimes became stronger than principles.

During the last few days evidence has accumulated of ill-treatment of prisoners by British Security personnel in Cyprus. Heaven knows that they have had both psychological and physical incitement. It is one of the worst features of rebellion by acts of individual violence that people will be unexpectedly stabbed in the back or bombs exploded in street or shop without opportunity for defence. This may seem insignificant at a time when hydrogen bombs can annihilate defenceless millions, but psychologically the effect is to create an atmosphere of terror in which unreasoning anger unloosens against any "rebel" who is caught.

**Evidence**

The first evidence of ill-treatment came from two British policemen who had resigned from service in Cyprus because of their disgust with what they had seen. When they told their story to a Press conference in London under my chairmanship, their charges were dismissed with little attention by those in authority and by the news-

papers which support them. But it is not now possible to ignore the charges which have been made. Newspapers with large British circulation like the Sunday Dispatch and the Daily Mirror have printed reports from their correspondents in Cyprus. The Human Rights Committee of the Cyprus Bar Association have added weighty evidence. An English newspaper in Nicosia, the Times of Cyprus, has come out editorially in protest against the ill-treatment.

And now, Miss Jennie Lee, MP, and I have seen in Wormwood Scrubs Prison in London the injuries and scars on the bodies of six Cypriot prisoners, some of which at least could only have occurred as a result of deliberate actions during interrogation or confinement.

The newspapers have already carried reports of the first impressions which Miss Lee and I received when we saw these prisoners. We have now in our hands statements running to nine foolscap pages made by the prisoners themselves. By the time this article is published Miss Lee and I will have put Questions on these charges in Parliament. I can therefore publicly reveal what is alleged in this document, a copy of which was sent to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, Mr. Lennox Boyd, from Wormwood Scrubs prison at the same time as it was sent to us.

**Three groups**

There are 15 Cypriot prisoners at Wormwood Scrubs. Six of them have been there ever since August 28, 1956. Nine of them were brought to London on February 7, 1957. The ill-treatment of which they complain took place in Cyprus a year or more ago. The fact that six of the prisoners, who stripped to show us their scars and injuries, still bear these marks shows how serious the ill-treatment must have been.

The prisoners had divided themselves into three groups. A first group of five state frankly they were not subjected to any bodily ill-treatment and complain only of exhaustive interrogation.

The second group of four prisoners allege that they were subjected to ill-treatment but owing to lapse of time no bodily indications of this are now visible.

The third group of six still bear the

marks of their injuries, which include broken bones which have set out of place; large swellings on their bodies; and deep scars from flesh wounds and abrasions.

When Miss Lee and I pointed out that many of these injuries might have occurred during combat the prisoners offered to give us the names of witnesses and they have added to their statement a long list of those who they say saw their ill-treatment. In only one case is there no additional evidence available. This is the case of a man who states that, after being beaten he was kept under water for exhaustive periods, dragged out at short intervals and beaten in the stomach. He says that only members of the Special Branch were present and that no independent persons can testify to his treatment because he was not allowed to see anyone except warders for one-and-a-half months.

**Tied and beaten**

The prisoners demonstrated to us how they were treated. More than one showed how, their hands forced under one knee, their wrists tied together, they were beaten. Another prisoner who had three scars on his back, leaned face against the wall and stated that he had been beaten by a belt containing a metal buckle, whilst in this position.

A third prisoner had marks round both wrists which, he said, were caused by ropes eating into his flesh. He told us that these took two months to heal and that injuries to his foot and knee took four months. These, he alleges, were caused by fireworks being tied on his leg and then lit and exploded. The marks round his wrists could certainly not have been caused in battle.

One case which could easily be tested is that of a man who acknowledges that his arm had been injured in battle and who, owing to the wound, could not raise his arm without severe pain. He says that he was placed in a jeep and compelled to hold up his arm to a procession of villagers. He alleges that an officer repeated to the villagers, "That is what happens to those who are members of EOKA". The procession of villagers in front of the injured man is stated to have lasted for an hour. The name of the village is given and its whole population are stated to have taken part.

Another prisoner alleges that he was blindfolded and thrown over the shoulders of his captors on to rocks, into prickly bushes, on to the ground and on to desks. Others had swellings or scars which they allege were the results of blows from the butt ends of Sten guns. Only one of the prisoners is now receiving medical treatment in Wormwood Scrubs prison and he is to have an operation for misplaced bones in shoulder and hand. Another prisoner who has alarming bulges under his ribs on both sides of his body seemed to Miss Lee and me to require medical treatment, and the Governor promised that he would order an immediate medical examination.

**Witnesses**

Many of these allegations cannot be accepted as proved until there is an investigation but there is clearly a *prima facie* case for an Enquiry.

Sir John Harding, the Governor of Cyprus, has refused an investigation on the ground that previous enquiries have vindicated the reputation of the British forces.

It is worth while emphasising that most of the charges are not made against the British soldiers.

They are made against officers of the Special Branch which is recruited for the purpose of interrogation of prisoners and which is partly manned by officers who have served a similar purpose in Kenya and Israel.

Mr. Lennox Boyd cannot ignore the fact that the names of some against whom allegations are made are given in this document and that official record can identify the others. The names of 51 other witnesses are provided in this document, together with the villages in Cyprus in which they reside. Two of the witnesses are now in London and their addresses are given. One is in prison for theft, after being court-martialled, we are informed, for a subsequent offence of physical assault against a prisoner.

The reputation of British justice is at stake. These charges cannot be ignored. Our standing in the world will be enhanced if we decide to make a thorough investigation as an indication of our determination to maintain the civilised treatment of all prisoners in our hands.

**Peace and Government**

MR. Usborne argues that peace is a by-product of government. Yet every nation that has engaged in war has had some type of government. The fact that the large majority of their populations believed in the enforcement of, and obedience to, laws, did not prevent them from either making war or preparing for it. Acceptance of the necessity for government does not necessarily mean the practice of peace.

If the retort of the federalist is that wars arose because government was only national in character, and that world government would secure the peace within the world that national government has secured within the nation, the following points must be met:

1. The existence of a national government is no guarantee that peace is kept within a nation. The British, American, Russian and Spanish Civil wars are four out of many proofs to the contrary. In each case the belligerents were almost wholly firm believers in the need for "law and order" and had previously lived together under one government.

2. Just as some nations have been free from civil war for considerable periods of time, so have some sovereign States existed side by side for considerable periods of time without international war. War is only one

**Letters to the Editor**

way in which power struggle both within and between nations is fought out.

It would also appear that world governmentalists themselves do not believe that the establishment of a world government would abolish the causes of war. The fact that they envisage the existence of a world army or police force demonstrates that even under world government they consider it is necessary to prepare for war—even if they may give it another name such as "rebellion" or "armed conflict."

Finally: It is quite wrong to state that anarchy is "another name for war." Etymologically "anarchy" signifies a condition of being "without government." Wars, on the other hand, are usually fought between governments, or those who aspire to government.—S. E. PARKER, 12 Park Drive, London, N.W.11.

**Peace parade**

I will probably be silenced by a blast of bugles and a skirt of pipes, but for some time I have felt there was something rather ill-considered about pacifists' post-war readiness to march upon Trafalgar Square with posters flying in the slipstream of wind-instruments.

**VISION OF A NOBLER HUMANITY**

**Konrad Braun reviews**

**The Tragic Philosophy, A Study of Friedrich Nietzsche**, by F. A. Lea, Methuen, 30s. NIETZSCHE's life, lacking in spectacular events, amounted to little more than the history of his thought. The author, editor of Peace News from 1946 to 1949, has not attempted a biography nor aspired to a systematic exposition of his philosophy.

He describes the evolution of Nietzsche's thought as expressed in his publications, notes and letters, during the 22 years from the autumn of 1865, when he first met with Schopenhauer's philosophy, to his breakdown in 1881.

The book is fully, clearly and thoughtfully written and keeps the attention of the reader from the beginning to the end. For it is a breath-taking story, the story of a thinker who, in spite of all contradictions and convulsions, followed his innate law with absolute consistency, suffering and accepting ever new experiences, on to the tragic end.

The book presents this development from one phase to the other, with sympathy, though not uncritically, connecting it on each level with our own time and its problems, even with Marx and Freud. Mr. Lea is not content, as so many modern commentators are, to refute Nietzsche's conclusions by a cheap psychological analysis; nor would he use his final insanity as an argument against his philosophy.

He shows that that philosophy is the fruit of a sincere and self-sacrificing search for truth. "This book is for those who have either submitted or are prepared to submit to the full impact of Nietzsche's critique."

Those who read Nietzsche in the original will easily be entranced by the magic of his diction. Much of his popularity in Germany is due to the extraordinary beauty and power of his prose with its suggestive new vocabulary and imagery. In the medium of English, his brilliant aphorisms sound simpler; they are more lucid and rational.

It is true that some overtones and poetic elements are lost. But there is less danger of being carried away, and it is easier to see objectively the strength and weakness of the argument and to realise how much the "moralist" was in fact directed by aesthetic factors.

Much of Nietzsche's teaching has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by his followers, not the least by his sister, the self-appointed executrix and editor of his writings. He was not the prophet of a Teutonic master-race, no nationalist and no militarist. He refuted all nationalism, especially that of Bismarck's Germany; he loathed anti-Semitism.

Like George and Spengler, he was proclaimed by the Nazis as their hero. Like them he would have despised and rejected them. His ideal of the *Superman* had nothing

The effect, surely, of music is—except in the highest flights of creation—to suppress thought rather than to stimulate it? The purpose of a Peace Parade, I would have imagined, is to compel people to recognise the reality of war, not to give them a Royal (Peace) Tournament "for free."

Maybe this is one of my soured-up days, but to me it seems similarly unwise for vegetarians to try to convert carnivores by giving them nuts made to look like sausages. The first step to conversion, in my view, would be to give them sausages shaped like nuts.

Equally, large and unmistakeable pictures, if possible in natural colours, of the effects of H-bombs, "small" arms, blockade, persecution, liberation and protective occupation might tempt the convertable into the appreciation of the opposite sooner than dressing the message of non-violence in the guise of even a mild militancy.

Pipe down, pacifists, and speak up! For myself, I shall fight to the last gutter to stave off the day when we flock to Tower Hill to listen to Field-Marshal Soper and Major-General Morrison—JON WYNNE-TYSON, 9 St. Anne's Close, London, N.6.

**Middleton Murry**

WITH the consent of his Executors, I am writing a Life of the late John Middleton Murry. If any of your readers possess letters or other documents which might be helpful, I should be glad to hear from them. Personal recollections would also be appreciated. Material loaned will be treated with every care, returned speedily, and regarded, where so wished, as confidential.—F. A. LEA, Willowcroft, Chesham Bois, Bucks.

**Chastened young man**

MANY thanks for the report on Mr. Ebenezer Cunningham's splendid address, "Sixty years a Pacifist." I was amazed and deeply moved by the vigour and challenge of one who, though advanced in years, still keeps the doves of Christ flying as the only true hope for a Heaven and earth threatened by guided missiles.

As a youth leader in this city I have often doubted the abilities of older pacifists. My question was—are they doing great things for peace? But now a chastened, angry young man, I swallow my words and bow to the superior zeal of my elder brethren.—JOHN VERNEY, 63 Darley Avenue, Chorlton, Manchester.

**BOOKS**

force and the will to power in conscious opposition to the Christian values of pity, charity and service.

He drove to the extreme the belief that the *genius* is exempt from moral rules; and so his teaching could be used as a justification of violence and oppression.

Like George and Spengler, and through his influence on them, he was in part responsible for the deterioration of German thinking which made Nazism possible. For they were exponents of that intellectual and spiritual arrogance which had its origin in the *Geniekult* of the eighteenth century.

In the last of his 12 chapters the author discusses, in an original and profound way, Nietzsche's critique of Christianity, which perhaps was the fiercest attack ever made. We are shown that the philosopher's utter scepticism, as his inveterate atheism, "issued in hopeless contradictions, and these contradictions are its refutations."

He misunderstood not only Jesus, but also Paul and Augustine. His conception of Christianity as a total negation of life was essentially wrong.

The author attributes this fault of perspective to childhood experiences and the influence of Schopenhauer. But the same negative view of Christianity can be found in Goethe, Schiller and Heine, who all three at some time influenced Nietzsche.

Although Nietzsche did not see it, his own synthesis of world-negation and world-affirmation came very near to the true Christian view. So it is possible to maintain that he who called himself the *anti-Christ* can lead the way to a re-presentation of Christianity in terms of twentieth-century cosmology.

While not decrying the function of reason, the appeal of the Folk High School pioneers was to the heart rather than to the head; and some of the chief struggles of Bishop Grundtvig's career were those against the "rationalist" element in the Danish Church and University.

The aim of Kold's own teaching was to

strengthen his students' faith in God and their love for Him and for their fellows,

and he held that "enlightenment" comes

before "enlightenment"—the imparting of

life before the imparting of light. Hence

the emphasis on the "living word," the word

spoken with love and conviction behind it,

the word which its hearers (as Kold said)

may forget for a time, though they have

heard it with joy, but which, like the seed

hidden in the ground, will spring up again

and bear fruit in due season.

From my knowledge of the Folk High Schools and the literature about them, I

would say that the book that best interprets

their spirit is Olive Campbell's "The

Danish Folk High School" published by

Macmillan's in the 1920s; it may still be

available in some libraries.

Among more recent books, Dr. Peter

Manniche's "Living Democracy in Denmark" contains some very useful sections on Grundtvig, Kold, and the Folk High Schools.

I am very pleased to see that the Danish Government has reaffirmed its decision to abstain from political control of the Folk High Schools. Another instance of a little nation setting a good example to the big ones.—(Dr.) NOELLE DAVIES, Aberavenny, Mon., Wales.

**PN and pacifist thinking**

I REALISE your report of the 21st anniversary celebrations had to be brief, so please excuse my adding to it by way of this column, to say that it would have been clearer, in reference to my few words, to have said "I rely on Peace News to help to guide my pacifist thinking."

As the only weekly pacifist newspaper, no one can afford to miss it, but nothing is perfect, and a number of guiding lights are needed, of which PN is certainly one.—MAX PARKER, Gen. Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1.

**The Liberal philosophy**

AS a member of the Liberal Party, and (I hope) a pacifist, I appreciated David Morris's clear outline of the Liberal viewpoint.

I think that it is very significant that the days when the call of war is at its loudest the fortunes of Liberalism are at their lowest ebb. Given peace, Liberalism will triumph, and the Liberal ideal of swords into ploughshares will be realised—ALISTAIR GRAHAM, Perrymead Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

**FOUND IN GAOL**

HAVE you found a new reader for Peace News yet?

Allen Goodwin, of Cheadle, Cheshire, has.

He writes:

"Thank you very much for sending me Peace News while I was in Strangeways. I passed them on to another prisoner, a Quaker from Rochdale, and he said he would like to continue to receive it. I enclose 2s. for the next year's subscription to him. Please send them to: No. \*\*\* HM Prison, Manchester, and remind me to renew it in a year's time."

You may not have the leisure time to go after new readers, which a prison sentence affords, but is there a friend for whom you can take out a trial subscription—8 copies for 2s. 6d.

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## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, TIME, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, June 29

HIGHGATE, N.6 : 3 to 6.30 p.m.; Feast of Frontiers Garden Party, 30 Wood Lane, Adm. 2s, 6d. incl. tea. Bring and Buy Stall, Competitions. Proceeds—International Refugee Fund.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES : 2.30 p.m., 3.30 p.m., 4.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Eden Street. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker at 8 p.m.: Dr. E. H. Burhop. Kingston Meeting Society of Friends.

LEWES : Twentieth PPU Annual Gathering. Friends Mtg. Ho., Friars Walk, Lewes. 3.30 p.m. A. E. Oram, "Peace and Politics." 5.30 p.m. Brains Trust. Minnie Pallister, A. E. Oram, Raymond Williams. Produce Stall—proceeds PN. Funds. PPU.

SOUTHPORT : 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; FoR North-West Conference. Max Parker. Details from W. Harrison, Ingledene, Much Hoole, Preston.

Sunday, June 30

LONDON, S.W.4 : 3 p.m.; Clapham Common, Open-air Meeting. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. PPU Group.

LEYTONSTONE : 3 p.m.; Friends House, Bush Road, E.11. Annual Garden Meeting. Eileen Fletcher on "Kenya." Tea 5 p.m. Concert. Contributions to refreshments welcomed. E.10/E.11 PPU.

Tuesday, July 2

ORPINGTON : 8 p.m.; The Village Hall. Film, "The Shadow of Hiroshima." Speakers: Dr. R. Furth and Mrs. Worcester. Chairman: Rev. F. Noble.

UPMINSTER : 8 p.m.; St. Mary's Lane School (near The Bell). Discussion on the Stephen King-Hall Proposals. Speaker: Martin Dakin. Hornchurch and Dist. Way to Peace Group. Secretary, 52 Fleet Ave., Upminster, Essex.

Thursday, July 4

LEYTONSTONE : 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Donald Groom "Non-violent revolution in rural India." E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

LONDON, W.C.1 : 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Terence Chivers. "The King-Hall Proposal of Unarmed Defence." PYAG.

STOKE NEWINGTON : 8 p.m.; Library Hall, Edwards Lane, Church St. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speakers: Prof. L. S. Penrose and others. Chair: Mayor of Stoke Newington. Sponsored by Friends, local clergy and others.

Friday, July 5; Saturday, July 6

ALFRETON, DERBYS : Market place stall to collect signatures to anti-H-bomb petition. National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Saturday, July 6

ROCHESTER : 3 p.m. at West Winds, Blue Bell Hill. Edith Adlam—"A Visit to Tashkent." For.

Tuesday, July 9

LONDON, W.C.2 : 8 p.m.; Holborn Hall (Small). Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Councillor John Lawrence, Leader St. Pancras Borough Council. Holborn and St. Pancras Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Wednesday, July 10

LONDON, S.W.4 : 8 p.m.; Clapham Labour Party Headquarters, 27 Clapham Park Road, S.W.4 (5 mins from Clapham Common Tube Station). Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News, Clapham & Dist. PPU.

Saturday, July 13

ALTON : 3 p.m.; "Hill crest," Windmill Hill, Southern Area PPU Committee Meeting.

Saturday, July 27

LONDON, S.W.19 : 2-6.30 p.m.; Garden Party at Lincoln House, 51 Parkside, Wimbledon Common. Opened 3 p.m. by H.E. The High Commissioner for India, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. "Racial Unity."

August 10-17

BANGOR, NORTH WALES : Anglican Pacifist Fellowship Summer Conference. Speakers: Vera Brittain, Rev. Ernest Best, Rev. Mark Shirley, etc. PPU members in North Wales welcomed to stay or to any sessions.

## Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL : 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK : 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW : 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON : Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY : 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER : 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOK : 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

GLASGOW : 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE : 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1 : 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1 : 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Sixth printing

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# Vera Brittain to open WRI Conference

By ARLO TATUM, General Secretary, WRI.

DELEGATES and members from 22 countries will attend this year's triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International to be held July 15-20 at the Frobel Educational Institute, Roehampton, London.

"I do not recall a previous conference where such wide representation was secured," stated Harold Bing, WRI Chairman who stands unopposed for re-election as head of the world's largest pacifist organisation.

Twelve Council Members will be elected at the Conference from 23 candidates.

Joseph Abileah, Secretary of the Israeli Section and S. Mamaseh, Secretary of the Indonesian Section will be among the session leaders. Others will be Dr. Lidl (Germany), Allen Skinner (Britain), Bayard Rustin (USA), Donald Groom, recently returned from India; and Michael Tippett, the composer and former National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union (Britain).

Other participants will come from Poland, Yugoslavia, India, New Zealand, Japan, Finland, Canada and possibly Hungary. The only major disappointment has been the cancellation of two Conference reservations—one from Russia and one from Spain. Most European and Scandinavian Sections will be represented.

## New Treaty to outlaw slavery

A NEW international convention on the abolition of slavery came into force recently when the United Kingdom became the second country to deposit its instrument of ratification at UN Headquarters. The convention itself provides that it will come into force on the date when two States become parties. The Soviet Union was the first country to ratify on April 12, 1957.

The new convention, known as the "Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery," was adopted by a United Nations conference on September 7, 1956. Thirty-four countries have signed the convention, which will be open for signature until July 1, 1957, but signatures must be followed by formal ratifications. After July 1, countries which have not signed can accede to the convention.

The new treaty supplements and brings up to date agreements made under an anti-slavery convention of 1926. The latter is still in force, but is confined mainly to types of chattel slavery and the traffic in human beings. The supplementary convention, on the other hand, covers not only the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, but also of institutions and practices similar to slavery.

Its provisions cover, among other things, the practice of debt bondage, serfdom, bride-price, inheritance of a woman on the death of her husband, and abuses arising from the adoption of children. Another clause provides that the act of conveying slaves from one country to another, by whatever means of transport, is considered a criminal offence. Persons thus convicted will be liable to very severe penalties.

In accordance with the territorial application article which is included in the Supplementary Convention, the United Kingdom has announced that after consulting the authorities in dependent territories as to the extension of the Convention to them, more than 24 of these territories have indicated their willingness for its application to them.

The thirty-four countries which have signed the convention are: Australia, Belgium, Byelorussia, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, San Marino, Sudan, Ukraine, USSR, United Kingdom, Vietnam and Yugoslavia.

Author Vera Brittain will open the Conference with a welcome from the host Section, the Peace Pledge Union, which in conjunction with the WRI is giving a social at 8 p.m., Thursday, July 18, at the Conference site. All members of the PPU are invited to attend (admission 2s. 6d.).

Under the theme "War Resistance in the Modern World" the conference will deal with activities in Israel and Britain during the Suez Crisis, Vinoba Bhave's work in India, race relations in the USA and the work of the German and Indonesian Sections.

Dr. Jong, interviewed by Gene Sharp, says

## "THERE MUST BE NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE"

AMONG the delegates from the Netherlands at the War Resisters' International Conference will be Dr. Wim Jong, a member of the present W.R.I. Council. When in Amsterdam a few weeks ago, I had a very pleasant talk with him.

Dr. Jong described to me how Dutch pacifism was intimately related to social radicalism. "Radical pacifism, including the rejection of war and organised violence, is a means to an end," he said. "Most of



Dr. Wim Jong

us are libertarian Socialists, some are from the left wing of the Labour Party. There are not many pacifists who are not Socialists."

He referred to non-violent resistance as "an old question in the whole Dutch movement. The issue has been dealt with years ago. In rejecting violent methods, we, of course, accept that there must be non-violent resistance."

He referred to a book, "Nieuwe Weerbaarheid", published by the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation a few years ago on methods of non-violent or spiritual resistance.

Looking forward to the July Conference in London, Dr. Jong said: "I hope that the WRI Conference this year will forward the idea of closer co-operation between the peace movements in various countries, and that the ideas evolved in different countries will combine to form a common ideology in the struggle for peace."

"There are the Dutch, English, German, Indian, and other traditions. It is the task of the WRI to promote the uniting of these backgrounds into a common approach of world pacifism. That, of course, is one of the main objects of the WRI. I hope that the WRI moves more in this direction, and I think that it is."

The first conscientious objector exempted from combatant duties on non-religious grounds recently in an Australian court, reports The Peacemaker.

The Young Friends Central Committee report that the Young Quaker War on Want Day on May 8 has so far brought in £223 with the probability of more to follow.

June 28, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

## CLASSIFIED Advertisements

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. is extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views or the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETING

S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sunday, June 30, 11 a.m. W. E. Swinton, PhD, "The Dead Sea Scrolls." Adm. free. Free copy "Monthly Record" on request.

WORLD GOVERNMENT—The Way to Permanent Peace. Public Meeting, Great Hall (Carton Hall), S.W.1. Wed., July 10, 1957, at 6.30 for 7 p.m. Speakers: M. Robert Maron, MP (France); Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, QC, MP; The Rt. Hon. Lord Selskill; Rt. Hon. Lord Boyd Orr, FRS; Mr. I. J. Pitman, MP; Mr. Gilbert McAllister. Reserved seats, 2s. 6d. from Parliamentary Association for World Government, 2 Manchester Sq., London, W.1.

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### LITERATURE

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### PERSONAL

## NON-VIOLENT DEFENCE

enables a minority to refuse to be overridden by a majority in matters that are the concern only of the minority, or in which they are more vitally affected than the majority.

The outstanding example of its operation in this way is to be found in the war-resister who, faced with an attack on the inner citadel of his personality by the demand by the State that he shall be prepared to kill to order, denies the validity of the law which makes this demand and refuses obedience.

In this country British tolerance of the minority view has led to the endeavour to give such a man legal recognition; but it will hardly be maintained that the war-resister in France is in a less tenable position morally than his counterpart in Britain.

### Decentralisation

There are, however, other and less crucial matters than this of refusal of military training in which men may feel the need to assert the integrity of their own personality against those whose conception of democracy leads them to believe that a majority has a right to impose anything it chooses on a minority; or against the view—which has perhaps a closer relationship to today's realities—that an accepting or acquiescent majority invalidates the views of a vitally concerned minority.

**There is this truth in the criticism of Mr. Usborne.** then, that a people organised for the method of defence by non-violent resistance will be less susceptible to the undiscriminating pressures of centralised power, and for that reason a society which is based on such a people is likely to become a society in which there is a much greater tendency to decentralisation, a society in which people will be likely to have a much more intimate influence over the conditions of their own lives.

It seems to me that many of the Federalists are blind to some of the consequences of the policy they advocate. I do not want in this article to discuss the, as it appears to me, completely unrealistic sketch given by Mr. Usborne of the next steps advocated by Federalists.

### World administration

That mankind must ultimately reach some form of world administration has been apparent to many since H. G. Wells first began to propound the need for it. The troublesome problem here is to find a way to bring the tremendous concentration of power inevitable in such a development into some effective relationship with democratic ideas.

So far from being able to deal with the problem on a world scale we seem to have become seriously less capable of dealing with it even on a national scale in the face of the rapid trend towards centralisation we have witnessed in recent years.

This is a problem that Federalists seem hardly able to perceive.

Mr. Usborne's article is one of the most useful that has appeared in the Peace News series following Sir Stephen King-Hall's statement and raises questions that call for thought.

The weakness in his general approach it seems to me is a too uncritical reverence for law merely as law. He remarks, for instance, "NVR, like the resistance movement in France during the German occupation, involves law-breaking;" there is a failure to discriminate between the laws the German army imposed on the French (or the laws the French army imposes on the Algerians) and the laws governing their own conditions for which the French themselves may be held to have responsibility.

**This is not a mere debating point; it represents a serious hiatus in Mr. Usborne's thought that needs to be filled.**

He speaks of States having through sovereignty a legal right to contract out of "law," when apart from certain conventions regarding the conduct of war there is no law in the international sphere for them to contract out of.

Later he says that a supranational federal

### FROM PAGE FIVE

parliament should exist and should make enforceable laws.

There is not a single word as to how it is to be secured that the legislation of this parliament shall reflect the desire of the 2,500 million people it will be representing, or what safeguard there shall be against its acting on the principles of a "democratic centralism" that will involve the enforcement of ways of life alien to the desires of many of those who have to live under its control.

**I should like to offer for Mr. Usborne's consideration the suggestion that the development of a capacity for non-violent resistance, and the movement to a global administration for world affairs are not contradictory but complementary conceptions. It is only in a world in which men have learned to protect their own values by non-violent resistance to oppression that such a Leviathan as a World State becomes tolerable of contemplation.**

### TED RASEY \* FROM PAGE ONE

**"When so many people are behaving like ostriches, it is encouraging that young people should attempt to come to grips with the crisis facing mankind."**

It is because Ted believes that the crisis facing mankind could be avoided that makes him such a hard-hitting campaigner.

"The truth is that a war which involves the use of nuclear weapons means wholesale indiscriminate destruction for hundreds of millions.

"There is no honour or glory in that. It is a shameful, loathsome possibility and whatever the alternatives, I refuse to have any part in preparing for it."

"It is a common fallacy" he states, "that Governments know best. That they have their secret reasons for their actions, motives hidden from ordinary men, information shrouded for security reasons in obscurity.

"Years later their papers become public property. Their secrets are opened. The lesson of history is that the motives of these men are no more creditable than they seem. Their actions when they seem sordid, stupid and cruel are stupid, sordid and cruel.

**"The very encouraging thing following the publication of my statement in the News Chronicle has been the large number of letters I have received," Ted told me on Monday.**

"There have been shoals by each post and all of them so far have been supporting my viewpoint. Some have expressed differences on minor points I made but the general agreement shows that there is a terrific latent force of opinion if it can be organised." Many of the letters come from older people who welcome such views from the young with the hope they promise and of which they had begun to despair.

On Tuesday the News Chronicle devoted all its "letters to the Editor column" to the subject of Ted Rasey's article.

At the age of 18, Ted Rasey has shown the way.

### GERMAN TEACHERS' APPEAL

Further, scientific research up to date goes to show that the effects of the atomic tests which have taken place so far endanger the well-being of mankind to a degree which makes the deliberate continuation of the tests infamous. Thus even war preparations, as such, endanger health, not to speak of the economic danger.

Modern military techniques, therefore, offer the historic opportunity for abolishing the occasion for war through total disarmament and the planning of world peace, for the preservation of which a world police force would be sufficient.

We must make use of this opportunity. Peoples of the world, unite against the common danger of another world war, in which no ideology can be defended and in which you stand to lose your very existence!

Do all in your power to replace those politicians who support the arms race by politicians who are prepared to make peace.

Insist that a general disarmament agreement be concluded and put into force without delay. Above all, do not be content merely with nuclear disarmament, but see to it that it means the abolition of all

### FROM PAGE ONE

weapons of war . . .

In particular, we would appeal to our colleagues, the scientists in all countries.

We who serve science must not betray it to power politics . . .

We therefore say to our colleagues: If you do not wish to deserve the curses of mankind, do not become guilty of such a betrayal, no matter for what reason or under what pretext war preparations are carried on . . . Consider, as responsible intellectuals, what can be done in a practical way for the salvation of mankind.

**Signatories:** Dr. Joh. B. Aufhauser, Catholic Theology, Munich; Dr. Johannes Hessen, Catholic Theology, Cologne; Dr. Oskar Kaul, late Philosophic Faculty, Wuerzburg; Dr. Emil Kieser, Philosophic Faculty, Wuerzburg; Dr. Franz Rauhut, Philosophic Faculty, Wuerzburg; Dr. Hans Rheinfelder, Philosophic Faculty, Munich; Dr. Georges Schaltenbrand, Medical Faculty, Wuerzburg; Dr. Franz Paul Schneider, Law Faculty, Wuerzburg; Dr. Levin L. Schuecking, Philosophic Faculty, Erlangen; Dr. H. Strathmann, Evang. Theology, Erlangen; Dr. Johannes Ude, Catholic Theology, Graz.

By Sybil Morrison

## ON THE MARCH

Comments overheard:—"Oh! These Commies . . ." "Ye've no richt to wear the kilt if ye wanna fight . . ." "They're Communists . . ." "There's a person—wonder what he's doing with that lot . . ." "Call yourselves British . . ." "Good for you! Keep it up . . ."

—June 22, 1957. Scene: London.

THE sky was overcast, and the wind blew strongly and coldly, as some 200 pacifists set off from Dick Sheppard House to march for peace through the West-end of London, last Saturday.

The skirl of the pipes, and the beat of the drums, kept the walkers swinging at a good pace through six miles of London's busiest area with ease and confidence. The



Vera Brittain, Donald Soper and Sybil Morrison lead the marchers.

posters, black on yellow, and red on white, with blue and gold banners, made a striking piece of colour against the grey buildings in the sunless streets.

There were only 200 men and women marching, but there were tens of thousands watching as they went. As the sound of the pipes and drums were heard in the

### IN PN NEXT WEEK

Next week a special 2-page supplement to Peace News will carry a table of the atomic explosions which have taken place since 1945 and reports of activities against continuation of tests by the Great Powers and Britain.

distance, people walking, people on buses, people in houses and shops, stopped what they were doing and stayed to stare from windows and pavements; some to laugh and jeer; some to repudiate and accuse; some to shout: "Good for you".

Few of the posters had that much misused word "peace" on them, but notwithstanding, there seemed to be a lack of comprehension as to the difference between *no war at all*, and *no war with Russia*.

To say *no war with Russia*, and to demand partial disarmament by agreement on the lines laid down by the Kremlin is one thing; to declare that "*Wars will cease when men refuse to fight*" is in quite a different category from the policy of the Soviet Union.

Yet, a number of the comments heard indicated that there were many who believed that a call for *no war* must be Communist propaganda.

The leaflet distribution must have cleared up some of this confusion that exists in the minds of the ordinary public and for that alone the demonstration was a very worthwhile exercise in positive propaganda, not against Communism, but for pacifism.

It is important to make clear whenever, and wherever possible, to the public, as well as to Communists, and Communist inspired organisations, the true meaning of the pacifist aims.

Communism and pacifism have nothing in common, and though some pacifists think that we cannot expect Governments to negotiate with, and co-exist with, the Soviet Union unless we are prepared to work alongside British Communist movements, this is in fact an absurd piece of muddled thinking.

It would be just as sensible to argue that peace can only be made with Russia by embracing the Communist faith and accepting the Russian methods. Peace will never be achieved by tolerating the intolerable, nor by giving unquestioning support to everyone who cries "*No war with Russia*".

There are many good and satisfactory reasons for "*sitting down with publicans and sinners*", chief among them being the fact of our own position in that category! But there is no good reason for subscribing to doctrines and methods which are unacceptable to both commonsense and conscience.

Those who, when confronted with a slogan repudiating war, turn away muttering, or shouting: "Commies", have been as much indoctrinated as the people who live under the regime which they deplore. Yet, it is these same people who, twelve years ago, cheered at the sight of Churchill on the screen with his arm around Joe Stalin's neck!

Nationalism often tends towards belligerency, and the Scotsman who so indignantly repudiated the idea of a pacifist wearing a kilt is confusing, as many others do, nationalism with militarism. The Pipe Band which led the procession was not in military uniform but in Scottish national dress, which any Scot can wear at any time, if he has the figure for it!

There is nothing wrong with love of country, nor with preserving national customs and dress, but everything wrong with turning it into an excuse for going to war.

Once the Scots fought against the English, but it has been discovered that it is better for everyone concerned to do away with frontiers and work together for the good of the whole. This is a good maxim for the whole world.

On with the march for peace!

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